

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 02953 01 OF 02 201833Z

42

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----- 049242

P R 201821Z FEB 76
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6635
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 02953

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PL, GW
SUBJECT: POLISH/GERMAN AGREEMENT

FOR HARTMAN FROM SONNENFELDT

REF: STATE 040479

1. IN MY PREPARED REMARKS TODAY TO THE GERMAN-AMERICAN
CONFERENCE AT KONRAD ADENAUER FOUNDATION HEADQUARTERS,
THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH WAS INCLUDED: BEGIN TEXT" THE
FUTURE OF GERMANY REMAINS AS FUNDAMENTAL TO THE EAST-
WEST EQUATION IN THE PRESENT ERA AS IT WAS AT THE
HEIGHT OF THE COLD WAR. TOGETHER WITH OUR NATO ALLIES
WE HAVE WORKED TO OVERCOME THE DIVISIONS OF GERMANY
AND EUROPE, A GOAL ALSO DEEPLY DESIRED BY THE PEOPLES
OF EASTERN EUROPE. IT IS A PROFOUNDLY HUMANITARIAN
GOAL AS WELL AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE OVER-ALL
ENDEAVOR TO BUILD RESTRAINT INTO EAST-WEST RELATIONS.
IN THIS CONTEXT, WE HAVE LONG SUPPORTED THE EFFORTS OF
SUCCESSIVE GERMAN GOVERNMENTS TO ACHIEVE NORMALIZATION
AND RECONCILIATION THROUGH A SERIES OF AGREEMENTS WITH
THEIR NEIGHBORS TO THE EAST. CARRYING THE HEAVY BURDENS
OF HISTORY THEY DO, THIS HAS OFTEN BEEN A PAINFUL PRO-
CESS FOR ALL CONCERNED. YET IT IS ONE OF THE IMPERA-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 02953 01 OF 02 201833Z

TIVES OF OUR ERA AND WE WELCOME THE PROGRESS THAT HAS

BEEN MADE BY OUR GERMAN ALLIES SINCE THE FIRST STEPS IN 1955 IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE SOVIET UNION." END TEXT

2. DURING MY SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION WITH CDU PARTY CHAIRMAN HELMUT KOHL, WHICH DEALT MAINLY WITH THE POLISH/GERMAN AGREEMENT, HE SAID THAT THE BASIC PROBLEM FOR HIM WAS NOT ONE OF MONEY OR STATISTICS, BUT THAT THE AGREEMENT DID NOT LEAVE OPEN THE POSSIBILITY FOR EVERY GERMAN ETHNIC NOW LIVING IN POLAND TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY WHO DESIRED TO DO SO. MOREOVER, ACTUAL POLISH RESTRICTIVE PRACTICES AT THE PRESENT TIME HAD RESULTED IN THE RECEIPT BY HIM AND BY EVERY OTHER CDU MEMBER OF THE BUNDESTAG OF NUMEROUS LETTERS FROM GERMANS IN POLAND WHO CLAIMED THAT THEIR APPLICATIONS FOR PERMISSION TO DEPART HAD IMMEDIATELY RESULTED IN DISCRIMINATORY ACTION AGAINST THEM.

3. AFTER NOTING THAT WE DID NOT WISH TO INTERVENE IN THE GERMAN DEBATE OVER THE AGREEMENT WITH POLAND, I REPEATED SOMEWHAT MORE SPECIFICALLY THE POINTS I HAD MADE IN MY PUBLIC REMARKS, STRESSING THAT WE HAD LONG SUPPORTED THE GERMAN GOAL OF NORMALIZATION AND RECONCILIATION WITH POLAND AND WOULD REGRET IT IF THIS PROCESS WERE NOW ABORTED. I WENT ON TO SAY THAT GERMAN FAILURE TO RATIFY COULD SERIOUSLY AFFECT GIEREK'S PERSONAL POSITION. IT HAD NOT BEEN EASY FOR THE POLISH LEADER TO AGREE EVEN TO THE FIGURE OF 125,000, AND IF THE OPPORTUNITY WERE NOW LOST IT MIGHT NEVER COME AGAIN. MOREOVER, WHAT MEASURE OF INDEPENDENCE THE POLES MIGHT HAVE ACHIEVED VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION IN THEIR FOREIGN POLICY WOULD NOW BE JEOPARDIZED. IT SEEMED TO ME THAT THE SITUATION WAS SOMEWHAT ANALOGOUS TO THAT WHICH THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD FACED WITH RESPECT TO SOVIET JEWRY. BECAUSE OF ADVERSE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION, THE NUMBER OF PERMITTED DEPARTURES FROM THE SOVIET UNION HAD GONE DOWN TO THEIR PRESENT MINIMUM LEVEL FROM WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN THE AGREED HIGHER LEVEL. THUS THE END RESULT WAS ADVERSE FOR THE VERY PEOPLE WHOM IT WAS DESIRED TO HELP. THE SAME MIGHT WELL BE THE CASE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 02953 01 OF 02 201833Z

WITH THE GERMAN ETHNICS IN POLAND IF GERMAN RATIFICATION WERE REFUSED.

4. KOHL DID NOT RESPOND TO MY POINTS DIRECTLY, BUT INSTEAD STRESSED HOW DIFFICULT THE LINE TAKEN BY THE FRG GOVERNMENT IN DEFENDING THE AGREEMENT HAD MADE IT FOR HIM PERSONALLY. HE NOTED THAT DURING THE BUNDESTAG DEBATE YESTERDAY CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT HAD CONTINUED HIS

ATTACK ON HIS (KOHL'S) CREDIBILITY AS AN OBVIOUS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 02953 02 OF 02 201832Z

46

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----- 049231

P R 201821Z FEB 76
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6636
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 02953

EXDIS

TACTIC IN THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN. HIS RELATIONS WITH SCHMIDT WERE NOW IRREPARABLY RUINED. THE CHANCELLOR HAD CITED ALLEGED COMMITMENTS MADE BY HIM DURING A PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 18, 1975, A MEETING AT WHICH FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER HAD ALSO BEEN UNEXPECTEDLY PRESENT. THE PUBLIC BETRAYAL OF THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF SUCH A MEETING MADE POLITICAL DISCOURSE BETWEEN PARTY LEADERS IMPOSSIBLE. ACCORDING TO KOHL, HE HAD SAID THAT HE WAS SYMPATHETIC TO THE OBJECTIVE OF RAPPROCHEMENT WITH POLAND AND HAD PROMISED THE CHANCELLOR TO EXAMINE THE AGREEMENT CAREFULLY. HE HAD NOT MADE ANY COMMITMENT, HOWEVER, THAT IT WOULD NECESSARILY BE APPROVED BY THE CDU. SOMEWHAT IRRELEVANTLY, HE ADDED THAT ANOTHER IMPORTANT FACTOR WAS THAT IN 1972 THE THEN CHANCELLOR BRANDT HAD BRUSHED ASIDE CDU DESIRES TO LEAVE OPEN, AT LEAST IN A LEGAL SENSE, THE FINAL BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT WITH POLAND, CLAIMING THAT THIS WAS NOW A SETTLED ITEM.

5. KOHL WAS CALLED TO THE TELEPHONE AT THIS POINT TO BE TOLD THAT THE CHANCELLOR HAD JUST GIVEN A PRESS CONFERENCE IN EFFECT CONTINUING YESTERDAY'S DEBATE. THE CDU LEADER SAID HE WOULD OBVIOUSLY HAVE TO RESPOND

IN HIS OWN PRESS CONFERENCE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

COMMENT: THE ATMOSPHERE IN BONN ON THIS ISSUE IS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 02953 02 OF 02 201832Z

OBVIOUSLY HIGHLY CHARGED AT PRESENT. I MADE MY POINTS
AND I BELIEVE THEY MADE SOME IMPRESSION ON KOHL, BUT
HE OBVIOUSLY FEELS HIMSELF FORCED TO TAKE A POSITION
WITH WHICH HE IS NOT ENTIRELY COMFORTABLE BY POLITICAL
EXIGENCIES BEYOND HIS CONTROL. I SUGGEST THAT
AMBASSADOR DAVIES, WITHIN HIS DISCRETION, BE AUTHORIZED
TO GIVE THE LANGUAGE OF MY PUBLIC REMARKS TO THE POLISH
GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS THE FACT THAT I TOOK THE OCCASION
OF MY CONVERSATION TODAY WITH KOHL TO PUT FORWARD THE
ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF GERMAN RATIFICATION OF THE POLISH/
GERMAN AGREEMENT. IF THE LAST POINT IS MADE, IT SHOULD
BE STRESSED THAT ANY PUBLICITY MUST BE AVOIDED ON THE
POLISH SIDE SINCE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE NOT GET DRAWN
INTO THE INTERNAL GERMAN DEBATE.
HILLENBRAND

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENTS, SOCIAL INSURANCE, PENSION PLANS, EMIGRANTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976BONN02953
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760064-0601
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760231/aaaabazx.tel
Line Count: 193
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 76 STATE 40479
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <28 APR 2004 by woolfhd>; APPROVED <18 AUG 2004 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: POLISH/GERMAN AGREEMENT FOR HARTMAN FROM SONNENFELDT
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, GE, PL
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006